

Message Text

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ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 AF-04 EUR-08 IO-06 ISO-00 SS-15 AID-01
NSCE-00 SSO-00 /038 W
-----130681 251551Z /41

O P 251020Z MAR 78
FM AMEMBASSY MAPUTO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6830
INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY GABORONE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MAPUTO 0366

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: MZ, RH
SUBJECT: RHODESIA: CODEL DIGGS MEETING WITH MOZAMBIQUE FOREGN
MINISTER

1. SUMMARY: CODEL DIGGS MET WITH MOZAMBIQUE FOREIGN MINISTER JOAQUIM CHISSANO FOR APPROXIMATELY THIRTY MINUTES ON MARCH 24. MEETING WAS FRIENDLY BUT BUSINESSLIKE, WITH CHISSANO TALKING AT LENGTH ABOUT RHODESIAN PROBLEM. CHISSANO SAID EVENTS WERE MOVING RAPIDLY IN RHODESIA AND THAT ZIMBABWEAN PROBLEM COULD DETERIORATE INTO SITUATION "WORSE THAN ANGOLA." HE CLAIMED ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN HAD DEFECTS BUT SAID IT REPRESENTED THE "BEST" SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM YET PUT FORWARD. HE ADMITTED THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT WOULD COME OUT OF THE DAR ES SALAAM MEETING, BUT SAID THAT THE ONLY ALTERNATIVE MAYBE BE CONTINUATION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE. END SUMMARY:

2. CONGRESSMAN DIGGS, ACCOMPANIED BY DCM, STAFF AIDE HERSCHELLE
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CHALLENGER, AND STATE ESCORT OFFICERS GIBSON LANPHER AND RICHARD BALTIMORE, MET WITH MOZAMBIQUE FOREIGN MINISTER JOAQUIM CHISSANO FOR THIRTY MINUTES AFTERNOON OF MARCH 24. AFTER EXCHANGING PLEASANTRIES, CHISSANO OPENED DISCUSSION ON RHODESIA BY SAYING THAT SITUATION IN ZIMBABWE "IS MOVING VERY FAST IN THE WRONG DIRECTION" AND THAT HE EXPECTED THE SITUATION TO DETERIORATE INTO SOMETHING "WORSE THAN ANGOLA." HE SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN A HIS-

TORY OF CONFLICT IN ZIMBABWE, EVEN BEFORE UDI. NOW THERE WERE SEVERAL GROUPS FIGHTING EACH OTHER: ZIMBABWEANS FIGHTING AGAINST SMITH AND ZIMBABWEANS FIGHTING AGAINST EACH OTHER. THIS, CHISSANO SAID, MAKES THE PROBLEM VERY COMPLEX. "IT WILL BE DIFFICULT FOR COUNTRIES TO TAKE SIDES."

3. CHISSANO SAID, "I SEE NO BETTER SOLUTION THAN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN". IT HAS DEFECTS BUT "IT IS THE BEST WE HAVE FOUND UP TO NOW." IF THE U.S. AND UK HAVE ABANDONED THE PLAN, WE DO NOT KNOW HOW THE PF WILL MOVE FORWARD TOWARD A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. THE PF HAS ONLY ONE HOPE, THAT IS THE ARMED STRUGGLE. IF THE ARMED STRUGGLE CONTINUES AND INTENSIFIES, THIS WILL CHANGE THE ATTITUDE OF THE U.S. TOWARD THE PF. THE PF WILL BECOME THE VILLIANS.

4. TURNING TO THE FORTHCOMING FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS MEETING, CHISSANO SAID HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT WOULD BE DECIDED IN DAR THIS WEEKEND. AS FOR MOZAMBIQUE, HE SAID, "WE ARE NOT PREPARED TO LIFT SANCTIONS TO SECURE THE PRIVILEGES AND POWER OF THE WHITE MINORITY." MOZAMBIQUE IS OPPOSED TO THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT. THERE IS NOTHING POSITIVE IN IT. THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT, HE SAID, BLOCKS ANY CHANGE FOR TENS. IT DOES NOT PROVIDE FOR ANY REAL POWER SHARING. IT WILL NOT LEAD TO GENUINE DEMOCRACY. IT WILL NOT IMPROVE THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE. OPPRESSION AND EXPLOITATION WILL CONTINUE. THE ILLEGALITY OF THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE -- EVEN IF MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE ARE A PART OF IT. THUS, THE REASONS FOR SANCTIONS WILL CONTINUE.

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5. CHISSANO SAID THAT AT THIS TIME HE COULD SEE NO ALTERNATIVE EXCEPT THE ARMED STRUGGLE. THIS WILL HELP CONSOLIDATE THE UNITY OF THE NATIONALISTS. THIS WILL BRING THEM TOGETHER. IF THIS DOES NOT HAPPEN, IT MEANS A TOTAL SURRENDER TO SMITH.

6. IN HELPING TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE ZIMBABWEAN PROBLEM, CHISSANO SAID MOZAMBIQUE WAS NOT TRYING TO CREATE ANOTHER MOZAMBIQUE IN ZIMBABWE. "WE DO NOT WANT ZIMBABWE TO BECOME A SOCIALIST STATE. ZIMBABWE DOES NOT HAVE TO GO AS FAR AS MOZAMBIQUE. WE WANT A FRIENDLY

, DEMOCRATIC AND STABLE ZIMBABWE." MOZAMBIQUE HAS GOOD RELATIONS WITH LESOTHO AND SWAZILAND AND CAN HAVE GOOD RELATIONS WITH ANY TRULY INDEPENDENT COUNTRY. A ZIMBABWE CREATED FROM THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT WILL NOT BE GENUINELY INDEPENDENT, POLITICALLY OR ECONOMICALLY. IT WOULD BE DEPENDENT ON SOUTH AFRICA; IT WOULD BE VIRTUALLY A PART OF SOUTH AFRICA. CHISSANO SAID THAT MOZAMBIQUE HAS ALWAYS ACKNOWLEDGED THAT IT IS ECONOMICALLY (NOT NOT POLITICALLY) DEPENDENT ON SOUTH AFRICA. "MOZAMBIQUE INHERITED THIS SITUATION BUT IS ACTIVELY TRYING TO GAIN ITS ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE." UNDER THE INTERNAL SETTLEMENT ZIMBABWE WOULD REMAIN POLITICALLY

AND ECONOMICALLY TIED TO SOUTH AFRICA. THIS IS NOT GENUINE IN-DEPENDENCE FOR ZIMBABWE, HE SAID.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MAPUTO 0366

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

7. THE SESSION DREW TO A CLOSE WITH MEMBERS OF THE CODEL ASKING FOREIGN MINISTER WHETHER MOZAMBIQUE WAS INTERESTED IN U.S. ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND WHETHER INCREASED FIGHTING WOULD LEAD TO FURTHER RHODESIAN BORDER VIOLATIONS AND EVENTUAL OUTSIDE INVOLVEMENT. CHISSANO RESPONDED TO THE FIRST QUESTION BY SAYING THAT PRESIDENT MACHEL HAS MADE IT CLEAR THA MOZAMBIQUE IS VERY RECEP-TIVE TO U.S. ASSISTANCE. IN RESPONSE TO THE SECOND QUESTION, CHISSANO SAID THAT MOZAMBIQE HAS NOT REACTED STRONGLY TO THE RHODESIAN RAIDS BECAUSE IT DOES NOT WANT TO CHANGE THE NATURE OF THE STRUGGLE IN ZIMBABWE. "THE STRUGGLE IS BETWEEN SMITH AND THE ZIMBABWEANS. WE DO NOT WANT PEOPLE TO TALK ABOUT THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN RHODESIA AND MOZAMBIQUE." CHISSANO SAID THAT MOZAMBIQUE PREFERRED TO GO TO THE UN INSTEAD OF LAUNCHING ATTACKS INSIDE RHODESIA OR CALLING FOR OUTSIDE ASSISTANCE. CHISSANO CONCLUDED BY SAYING THAT "WE ARE CAPABLE OF DOING THINGS THAT WE ARE NOT DOING."

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8. COMMENT: CHISSANO WAS IN A WARM AND FRIENDLY MOOD. HE WAS WELL BRIEFED ON ZIMBABWEAN QUESTION AND TALKED OPENLY AND WITHOUT HESITATION. MOST SIGNIFICANT ELEMENT OF THE CONVERSATION WAS HIS UNAMBIGUOUS ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF MOZAMBIQUE'S CONTINUED SUPPORT FOR THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN. "I SEE NO BETTER SOLUTION THAN THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN." CHISSANO MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE ANGLO-AMERICAN PLAN MAY BE ONLY WAY TO PREVENT ANGOLAN-TYPE SITUATION. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT MOZAMBIQUE ONLY WANTED A FRIENDLY, STABLE AND DEMOCRATIC NEIGHBOR IN ZIMBABWE, NOT NECESSARILY A SOCIALIST ONE.

9. CHISSANO'S REMARKS AND PRESENTATION WERE STRAIGHTFORWARD. HE REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE COMPLEXITY AND DIFFICULT OF FINDING AN ACCEPTABLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM. HE DID NOT INDULGE IN ANY CRITICISM OF THE U.S. OR UK AND LIMITED HIS NEGATIVE COMMENTS ABOUT BISHOP MUZOREWA TO A SINGLE REMARK: "HE IS MISGUIDED AND DOES NOT KNOW WHAT HE IS DOING." CHISSANO DID NOT SAY THAT MUZOREWA AND SITHOLE WOULD NOT BE WELCOMED BACK INTO THE FOLD. CHISSANO ALSO LIMITED HIS PRAISE FOR THE PF. ALTHOUGH HE ENDORSED THEIR ARMED STRUGGLE, HE ACKNOWLEDGED THAT THEY WERE NOT COMPLETELY UNITED AND THAT IN THE EYES OF FRELIMO NEITHER MUGABE NOR NKOMO WAS VERY PROGRESSIVE.

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